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231 but which, as Williams says in his discussion on Orokaiva domestic animals (1930: 60–3), are all ultimately destined for the pot. The fowl population has likewise remained more or less constant for some time (e.g. about 30 in Inonda, 235 40 in Sivepe). The birds are useful not only as a source of meat and eggs, but also of cockerel feathers which are plucked and used for decoration on headdresses, spears, etc. Unlike the dogs, the fowls are no longer a purely [177] indigenous variety: they have been crossed with Rhode Island Reds introduced in the 1950s.

231 A few years before I did my fieldwork, the government began a vigorous campaign to eliminate pig husbandry from Orokaiva villages, in an attempt to [744] improve village hygiene. Though this campaign generally was not very successful, domestic pigs had all but disappeared from the villages where I stayed. Like the other domestic animals they were left to forage for food most of the time but were also fed with pieces of taro and other left-over food, as well as pawpaw, coconut, etc. They mostly slept under the houses, but were free to roam. Males [325] were castrated and females were fertilised by boars roaming in the bush. A close *quasi*-kinship link was assumed to exist between the pig and its keepers, and this was emphasised by taboos on eating a pig reared by a close relative. Techniques of domestication will be discussed below.

241 *Horticulture*. The Orokaiva word *pure* has at least two important meanings: 'work' and 'garden'. As elsewhere in Papua–New Guinea, the garden is a centre of sexual, social, religious as well as industrial activity.

The main product is taro which occupies perhaps nine tenths of the area. But a great variety of other plants are also found: banana, sugar-cane, edible pitpit, German taro (*xantosoma*), a few introduced vegetables such as pineapples, tomatoes, beans, and some sweet potato. Some trees may also be planted though these will not bear until long after the garden has been abandoned: breadfruit, *tauga*, coconut, areca. In addition there are always some herbs and medicines, and if the gardener is a professional medicine man there will be a great many of these. Yams are grown in separate gardens.

Very full data on the size of these gardens have been provided by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Rimoldi (1966). A household tends to establish something like one and a half to two acres of garden per year. A garden is never used for more than one taro season, but as planting and consumption of the taro each tend to be stretched over most of a year, almost two years elapse between the clearing and final abandonment. This gives time for the bananas and sugar-cane to reach maturity too. Once a garden is abandoned, it is not used again for at least eight years or so. The usual swidden agriculture techniques are used, burning, clearing, careful removal of 'rubbish' remaining after the burning process, planting with a digging stick, periodic attention to weeding and heaping up of earth around growing taro, removal of corm-bearing bases of petioles of [242] mature taro for removal and planting in a new garden. The Orokaiva practise no irrigation, no form of terracing or drainage, no manuring, no measures against parasites. Sometimes a fence is made out of tree trunks to keep pigs from breaking in. This is usually done only after a pig has made its first expedition, and only on the side where the pig entered.

While planting and harvesting proceeds almost throughout the year there are [132] important seasonal variations that should not be ignored. There is a dry and a

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movements were more extravagant and exciting than those of the others; they were allowed, and did, break out of line for extra flourishes that took their fancy while still remaining true to the spirit of each type of dance. A notable feature of the dances is the identification with spirits and animals on the part of the dancers. Mistakes in drumming and dancing are thought very inauspicious for the well-being of the community. Although men and women do not dance as partners, the dances give men a chance to show off their attractions, while the women give signs to men who impress them.

3. *Economics*

Production. The Orokaiva work force involves, in some ways, everybody from the age he can walk almost until the day of death. The very young and the very old are expected to make whatever contribution they are capable of. The division of labour between the sexes has been the subject of enquiry by Williams, Waddell and Krinks. A sex basis in the division of labour is obvious in a great many activities, as the charts clearly show.[7] But even where activities are 'shared' between men and women, it is most common to see each sex group work at a different aspect of the task; they rarely do exactly the same job. Calculations by Waddell and Krinks show that the Orokaiva are fairly fully occupied in terms of the number of weekly working hours. Their calculations suggest that, given the present technology and social organisation, there is comparatively little slack in the working week that could be taken up by cash cropping activities on a major scale.

The working group is most frequently the household, occupied in the *pure.* Sometimes close relatives work together on larger tasks, helping each other in turn. Although old men do maintain their own gardens, they tend to receive frequent help from sons, sons-in-law and sometimes sisters' sons. Co-operation between men is also common during hunting and housebuilding. Co-operative groups of five or more men or women are also seen occasionally, e.g. for making roofing for a house, planting and harvesting yams. Co-operation of a total village is rare, but there are co-operative fishing and hunting expeditions. Activities related to feasting tend to be communal also.

Distribution. The Orokaiva have a subsistence economy where the bulk of goods produced are consumed by the household of the producer. Though patterns of exchange will take up a good part of the present work, it is necessary to state at the outset that only a small percentage of everyday produce enters the exchange system in any way. Waddell estimates that only 4.1 per cent of taro produced in Sivepe is disposed of by sale, gift exchange or barter. While the proportion is twice as high in Inonda, this is due to quite recent changes in the economic network in that area. One is bound to agree with Waddell that food exchanges, whatever their economic utility, are no great drain on Orokaiva resources. Of the produce entering the exchange network only a minute proportion leaves the village where it is grown. At a comparatively large feast I saw in Inonda in 1967, I estimated that Inonda was giving away, at the very utmost, 5 per cent of its annual production. As plantings are always made on a scale sufficient for survival *even if the harvest is poor*, there will be a surplus of at least 5 per cent after a good growing season. Unless the growing season is good,

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CHAPTER VII

PIGS

1. *Introduction*

While taro exchanges serve to maintain the basic social network used in transactions, the pig is the most common object of mediation in critical situations. Unlike taro, pig is not consumed as part of the ordinary diet, but is commonly described as a 'feasting food'. As feasts are held only to mark a crisis in social relations, it will be our task to investigate what makes pig meat specially suitable as a feasting food. One may, at the outset, answer this question with a remark about the physiological properties of pig meat: as the Orokaiva diet normally includes little first-class protein, any meal at which meat is served may be expected to have a specially invigorating and exhilarating effect. But in the present inquiry it does not suffice to give physiological explanations: our problem is to discover how the exhilarating experience of eating meat becomes symbolic and how it is magically utilised in the managing of social crises.

Pig meat is used both for the restoration of good relations after a quarrel or estrangement and for the establishment of new social relations. As such it serves a function in widening the social network. This function is hinted at in the basic pig myth about Totoima to which reference has been made earlier. When Totoima was killed, the joints cut from his body were distributed far and wide and caused all those groups who shared in it to multiply rapidly. This sharing may thus be regarded as a kind of communion which implies both social relations and the conferment of a blessing. Both these themes are strongly present in all ceremonies where pig meat is shared.

But there is a second theme as well: there is in every gift of pig meat the notion of a reparation, either for past services rendered or for past injuries suffered, even though these injuries on some occasions may amount to no more than the lapsing of social contact. The Totoima of the myth, of course, was guilty of many murders and his death was an occasion for dispelling many grievances. Thus the gift of pig meat implies not only a communion but also an expiation.

In treating pig as an object of mediation in exchange, I shall need to demonstrate specifically that in certain respects a gift of pig resembles a sacrifice. It must be shown that the offerer identifies with the pig that is given away or sacrificed, and that there is a belief in the 'virtue' or magical power of the sacrifice both in establishing a social link between sacrificer and human beneficiary and in strengthening the spiritual state of the sacrificer himself.

The data show that pig sacrifices may be regarded equally well as rites of communion and as rites of expiation. The key to their significance, however,

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lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1]

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity. The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *dema* established consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic restoration of positive reciprocity.

2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle where it is believed that ghosts (*sovai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a *sovai* is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, states its message most clearly:

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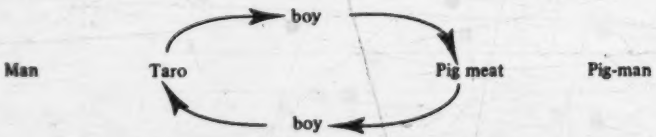
A man and a pig (apparently a pig in form but really a man) were up a tree together after fruit . . . the man gave the pig a push and he fell down . . . helpless. Another man came along with a dog . . . the Man-pig cried, 'Hold your dog or he may bite me.' He then asked this new man to build him a house . . . this done he asked for food . . . and an arrangement was reached by which this man always sent taro, etc. from the village to the Pig-man's house . . . and in return received a brought real pig. But the man grew lazy, and once sent his son with the taro. This so annoyed the pig that he tried to kill the boy . . . but he made his escape back to the village . . . After this the Pig-man thought the villagers would want to kill him . . . so he took to the bush (Notebooks 1923, W. 56).

This myth is concerned with the question why man and pig are differentiated species with separate assigned domains.[2] The pig-man of the myth (like Totoima discussed in an earlier chapter) is clearly neither fully man nor fully pig, but has an intermediate position. The assumption appears to be that in primeval time the present discontinuity between the species man and pig did not yet exist. The myth describes how this discontinuity came about and distinguishes two stages. At the outset there was no differentiation at all, a state symbolised in the myth by the image of pigs being able to climb trees. But even then they were less capable of arboreal life than man; man pushed the pig from the tree, thus inaugurating the first state of differentiation. An exchange relationship was now established whereby each partner offered the other the products of his own capacities. But there was an asymmetry in this relationship, as man offered a house and taro, whereas pig was able to offer only his own offspring. This state of equilibrium may be expressed by the following diagram:

MODEL 21



Except for the friendly intervention of the boy, this diagram represents the pattern of exchange that persists to the present day, as wild pigs take man's taro and man takes the pigs from the bush. But man defaulted in this exchange, omitting to send taro. Man thus set in motion the usual process of breaking a relationship. He sent the boy but the response of his neglect was not pig meat; it was anger and an attempt to kill the boy. The boy now ceased to visit pig-man: the social relationship between man and pig-man ceased and thus pig-man, bereft of social relationship, ceased to be 'man' at all but became fully pig. From that time on pig (no longer pig-man) kept to the bush and the exchange between man and pig was no longer friendly but hostile. Pig still takes man's taro but it is no longer given to him; he steals it from the gardens. Similarly, man still takes pigs, but he hunts for them in the bush.

[772] The separation of man and pig leads immediately to the division of the world

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into two separate realms: the human world, comprising villages and gardens, and the wild world, *ariri*, the bush, where everything is dangerous and inimical to man, and where the ghosts (*sovai*) have their abode. The area friendly to man is thus reduced to a small space, whereas the area hostile to man is an infinite expanse. Thus man is forever at strife with all but a small circumscribed portion of the universe. The myth of pig-man restates in another idiom the message of the primal theft of the piece of string.

3. *Domestication of Pigs: Husbandry*

Separate though the worlds of bush and human habitation may be, Orokaiva still view them as linked by an exchange relationship. One side of this transaction has already been described in detail by Williams (1930:267ff.). A man becomes a *sovai* at death. As such he enters into various animals. An important class of *sovai* (though not all *sovai*) can be recognised by the abnormal appearance or behaviour of the animals into which they have entered. They are greatly feared and are thought responsible for a great variety of misfortunes. Thus if a man fears the supernatural dangers of the bush, he does not regard these as generated by anything inherent in nature, but as introduced by dead hunters and killers who retain their human wilfulness while deprived of human bonds.

In certain special circumstances bush creatures may re-enter the protected confines of human society. The most important example of such a reverse transaction between bush and village is furnished by the domestication of pigs. There is, of course, no zoological difference between wild and domestic pigs, both being scientifically known as *sus papuensis* and known in the vernacular as *o ohu*. The myths explaining the domestication of pigs are all very simple. In one of them the first pig ever killed by man was a sow marauding the taro gardens. After killing her, men heard a mournful song by the root of a tree. It was sung by her piglets who were thirsting for their mother's milk. The piglets were taken to the village and became the first domestic pigs. The piglets' song, of course, is still known.

The breed has continued until today, being constantly replenished by foundlings from the bush. As boars are castrated, sows mate in the bush. In the bush around Sivepe some wild boars must still exist, though these are probably the offspring of tame sows who have escaped to the bush.

The domestication of piglets is a complicated task which I once saw performed at Inonda. When a piglet was found in the bush it was given for rearing to an old woman who was an expert at domestication. She made a medicine by chewing together betelnut, *hingi* (a peppery leaf) and *arifa* root (in Sivepe *akore* root would have been used). She spat this medicine into all body apertures: mouth, eyes, ears, nose, rectum, genitals. A few hours later she carried the piglet to a creek, washed it and placed it in a string bag (*eti*) in the same way as a baby. Five days afterwards, the piglet could be seen walking through the village on a leash, held by its 'mother'. After two or three weeks, it was regarded as domesticated.

The medicine was intended to seal the piglet from *sovai* who might otherwise enter it. As a bush animal, the piglet was considered impure, dangerous, and liable to spirit entry. The Orokaiva believe that it is *sovai* contamination which

distinguishes wild pigs from domestic ones. Once the spirits have been effectively expelled, the piglet *thereby* becomes domesticated. This means that it obeys the calls of its mother. It learns to forage in disused gardens but keeps away from growing taro. The piglet will not stray too far into the bush but comes home every night to be fed, and goes to sleep under the house.

Yet some danger of *sovai* contamination always remains. It may happen that a village pig stays away in the bush and does not return when its mother calls. The mother keeps on calling it from day to day, still hoping that it will return, but after a fortnight or a month it is accepted that the pig has gone wild. Or else it does return when the mother calls but returns to the bush as soon as it is fed. In all such cases people say that the spirits took the pig away and did not send it back.

These facts suggest an exchange cycle arising out of the following four notions: (1) A man turns into a *sovai* upon death. (2) *Sovai* entering pigs maraud gardens and attack humans. (3) A pig is domesticated by the driving out of the *sovai*. (4) Meat from the domesticated pig provides man with the *ivo* (strength) he needs for hunting pig. (This *ivo* makes man a dangerous *sovai* after death.) This cycle may be expressed as follows:

MODEL 22

Live domesticated pigs are not used a great deal for the mediation of social exchange. Certainly the rearing of pigs enters widely into the exchange of prestations between the sexes, for it is a task women customarily perform for close kinsmen (husbands, brothers, sons). In addition it is not infrequent for piglets to be given to relatives and friends from different villages whose wives then rear them 'for the owner'. Salisbury (1962) noted a similar custom among the Siane, but here the purpose was somewhat different. The Siane have feasts at which 150–200 pigs are slaughtered. Here the recalling of lent pigs is an essential prerequisite for the holding of a feast and, indeed, feasts on this scale would be impossible unless the task of rearing was distributed among several villages. Orokaiva feasts involve far fewer pigs (seven, at a Hohorita feast, seemed normal). Admittedly, lending pigs for rearing does have an obvious economic advantage, similar to the one suggested by Salisbury: once the owner has lent a piglet to a man from another village, he finds it easier to resist demands that will be made from time to time by relatives who 'urgently' need a pig for purposes too compelling to ignore.

Basically, however, this institution is just another way of mediating social exchange. By lending a man a piglet one starts a partnership. The partner does not usually return the pig he has reared but instead gives a piglet which will in turn be reared by the original donor. One might say that the offspring of the donated pig returns to its 'mother's' village. In this way the institution of

pig-lending becomes a simulation, on a minor scale, of the customs of marriage exchange, where a reciprocating pair of groups send back and forth a female marriage partner at intervals of one generation.

This assimilation of domesticated pigs to human members of exchanging social groups is emphasised by much customary behaviour towards these pigs. This behaviour goes beyond co-residence in the same house and the use of kinship terms of reference, but extends to strict taboos of wide range prohibiting the eating of domestic pigs by their rearers.

4. *Wild Pigs as Victims*

Williams (1930) describes in detail the techniques that are, or were, used for the hunting of pigs: the use of spears, pig-traps, and the collective burning of *kunai* grass to drive pigs towards their pursuers. I myself witnessed such a burn, in which three villages participated as owners of the burnt-over land (Inonda, Urio, Musou) as well as some hunters from Ajoro. The myths explaining the origin of the various techniques of hunting and of cooking the meat do not enlighten us greatly in the study of exchange, except to confirm a point already made in a previous chapter: the *dema* figure who is remembered as having 'given' a certain technique to mankind, is invariably described in the myth as the first *victim* of that technique. The ritual of killing is a very simple one: it consists in calling out one's clan name before striking the fatal blow. This is supposed to give the hunter the strength (*ivo*) he needs in order to kill. Both killer and victim are thus symbolically identified with a primal ancestor.

The killer of a wild pig is not bound by the same ritual restrictions as the killer of either a man or a domestic pig. Williams states that he found no rule prohibiting a man from eating his personal quarry. Nonetheless, I found that in practice the meat of the wild pig virtually always serves some purpose of exchange-sale, barter or the mediating of social relations. The two wild pigs killed by Inonda men during the hunt to which I have already referred will serve as an example.

Killer A presented his pig to his mother's brother who lives in Ajoro. Killer B presented his quarry to killer A, who is B's brother's wife's brother. A distributed most of the joints to men and women from Inonda (including B), and to two Ajoro men who had returned from the hunt empty-handed, but kept one joint. A's mother's brother kept part of the animal he had been given but distributed the rest of it to his Inonda relatives, including A., as well as several affines. In the end everyone in Inonda had received some meat, but sometimes this meat had gone through several hands. For instance, A's sister did not receive meat from the animal her brother had killed, but from the animal her brother received as a present. Her brother gave several joints to B and it was from one of these joints A's sister was able to eat, because B gave it to his own brother who was A's sister's husband.

After this set of circuitous transactions the fires were lit. I noticed that only some of the meat was boiled but that most of it was smoked for later use, In fact only a fraction of the two slaughtered pigs was eaten that night. The smoked meat was kept for a variety of transactions. In line with the modern trend, these included sale at the market, but there were also traditional prestations, e.g. a gift

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224 825 571 to a man who had lent an ornament for a recent ceremony. I was told that meat is sometimes kept for 'months' so it can be offered at a feast or used to discharge an obligation. The housewife smokes the meat over the fire every day so that, after a while, it becomes very 'strong'; the 'stronger' it is, the better.

[251 431 437] While the economic motivation in the final disposal of the joints is plain enough, it is less easy to understand the elaborate exchanges immediately following the killing. There are no taboos that could explain why these exchanges were made. One might, of course, account for the whole series of gifts in the same way as I accounted for the taro gifts made between close associates: as a means of maintaining a quasi-commensal kind of social relationship. But such an explanation obscures an important difference between gifts of taro and pig meat, namely that gift taro is usually only a small part of the harvest, whereas it appears to be regular practice (even though not supported by taboo) to give [262] away *all* the meat of a pig one has killed. There is a strong, empirically demonstrated, preference for eating pork that has been *given* rather than pork that has been personally killed.

262 The essential difference between taro and pork, as perceived by the Orokaiva, has already been discussed in a previous chapter. The difference is that taro is regarded as a staple food to keep men alive, whereas pork is regarded as a food of special power enabling men to succeed in tasks of great difficulty, in which [778] success is always precarious. Pork has a special power or *ivo*. The reality of this belief is obvious from field observation. Meat-eating arouses in the Orokaiva a mood of extraordinary festivity and gaiety. After meat, he shows an exuberance and excitement Westerners display only when they have drunk a good deal or are 'turned on' by mild drugs. While one can think of biochemical causes for the Orokaiva behaviour, they explain this excitement themselves by referring to the *ivo* or spiritual qualities of meat.

778 262 224 431 773 These beliefs do not, in themselves, explain why it is considered better for meat to be given rather than consumed by the killer. They do, however, carry us back to the myth – already considered in detail – by which Orokaiva explain the origin of human *ivo*. *Ivo* was personified in Pig-man Totoima until his son slew him and cut his body into pieces. These joints, shared out among men, made the people multiply so that men are now spread throughout the world. The important point to note in this myth is that *ivo* did not come from the mere eating of the meat, but from the sharing out, following by the eating. If *ivo* is to be attained, it has to be through the re-enactment of the myth, which means not only the eating but also the sharing out. This sharing out is always done by cutting a pig into the very same joints as those into which the dead Totoima was dissected. Hence pork – whether derived from a wild or a domesticated pig – is magically most effective if it is a gift.

5. *Domesticated Pig as Victim*

231 825 Pig meat provided at the more important ceremonies of the Orokaiva comes far more frequently from domesticated than from wild pig. One reason for this is obviously practical: the more important ceremonies require very intricate planning in many spheres. The meat supply, which is a crucial requirement for such ceremonies, cannot be left to chance, though wild pork can usually serve to

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add lustre to a feast or to economise on domestic pig. Informants told me that for most ceremonial purposes, wild and domestic pig are interchangeable. In general, therefore, one may say that pigs are reared in order to provide a bigger and more dependable supply of pork. I was unable to discover any instance of a rule requiring *only* wild pig to be used for any kind of ceremony and declaring domesticated pig to be unsuitable. On the other hand certain ceremonial gifts of pigs are made between affines, where a rule stipulates that the pig *must* have been reared by a particular person – the bridegroom's sister or the bride's mother. Such instances have to be carefully studied, as they indicate that the value of the meat transferred in the transaction may sometimes be derived partly from the labour expended by particular persons who reared the animals.

We have already pointed out that some rudimentary sacrificial notions enter into a hunter's action towards his quarry, but it is only the killing of domestic pigs that can be described as *sacrifice* in the full conventional sense of the term. Williams (1930: 61) applies this term to the slaughter of pigs but provides no analysis of the sacrificial process. Such analysis is not altogether straightforward, as the anthropological study of sacrifice has hitherto remained confined to the application of two models: one derived from Robertson Smith after the analogy of Christian *communion*, and the other derived from Mauss, (1968: 193–307) whose chief inspiration seems to have been the doctrine of *piaculum* among the Brâhmanas (viz. Mauss 1968: 352–4). The wide applicability of Robertson Smith's model has recently been well argued by Stanner (1960–3) and Bellah (1964), while Mauss' model has been enshrined by such brilliant ethnographic applications as Evans-Pritchard's study of *Nuer Religion* (1956).

These two models have a great deal in common, but differ in final destination of the victim and the postulated aim of the sacrifice. As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out (1956: 275), the aim may be to keep the god away or get rid of him (as in Nuer piacular sacrifice), or to establish union or fellowship with him (as in Christian communion, and in Australian *intichiuma*).

Neither model appears to be very appropriate to Orokaiva sacrifice, as it is not clear at all just who the god is to whom the sacrifice is being made. The only divine agency that seems to appear in pig sacrifices, including the major feasts, are spirits, loosely described as belonging to the 'ancestors'. These do not appear to be specific personalised ancestors but seem to be identified with the demigod, or *dema* who instituted the feast, as well as with other *dema* who introduced the various products used at the feast as gifts, ornaments and the like, as well as with clan and lineage ancestors who are responsible for the well-being of the land. A big feast seems to involve the whole pantheon. If this were all, one could classify Orokaiva sacrifice as aiming definitely at communion, as the ritual preceding the feast and during the feast quite clearly has the effect of drawing the divine beings down into the village, and making them enter the persons of the celebrants who behave as though they are possessed by these spirits.

But in addition one must often regard the sacrifices as being made, in a very real sense, to the guests. There are of course pig sacrifices where communion with the god is the only or predominant purpose. For instance, it is customary to sacrifice a pig when new taro fields are prepared for planting and the flesh is shared between the men of the local clan group. Here the purpose is no doubt to bring about an identification of the men with the original ancestor who first

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574 782 successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema* figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a 431 period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to 437 the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen, [572] uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered important ritual services.

578 431 571 825 [824] An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his [754] own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party. This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the 628 husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of 728 peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the 574 sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable: the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

782 571 574 431 The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering in a properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

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The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament. 796 574

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins. These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children. 782 [825] [784] [842] [602]

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests. 574 614 621 [628]

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must, above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals. 574 628 437 [789]

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to this reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something like imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery. [789] [244]

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a corporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A 574 621 [789]

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Hence, *otohu* might serve as symbols of high social status whereas *hambo* are less useful in this regard, being worn only intermittently and never with a purely social purpose in mind. 301 554

The usefulness of *otohu* as status symbols is further enhanced by the fact that they are transferable from generation to generation. The Member of the House of Assembly for the Northern District told me he always carried his *otohu* with him when meeting his constituents and that he would display it conspicuously attached to his betelnut bag, because a great many people would know this *otohu*: it had belonged to his *epe* who had been a famous war chief and sorcerer. He believed that people in his constituency had great respect for this *otohu*. He made it sound almost as though he was carrying the *insigne* of a hereditary chieftainship, but in fact the basis of his influence was far more complex: it was in part agnatic, in part uterine, and in large part personal. Nonetheless, the *otohu* was obviously very useful to him in establishing new social relations.

Whatever social effect a *hambo* might have would depend mostly on the beauty of its construction and the rarity of its materials. While informants might sometimes think its history and associations worthy of mention, a *hambo's* association with a particular family is usually rather loose, as the right to wear *hambo* of a particular type is never, to my knowledge, restricted to a family. The main effect and power of a *hambo* appears to be aesthetic. It is used to impress partners in a dispute, dancing partners or young women whose passions one hopes to arouse.

Unlike the *otohu*, the *hambo* does not otherwise emphasise the identity of the wearer. One the contrary, a fully decorated person, wearing a head-dress, *hambo* and face-paint, is supposed not to be recognisable as a person. One should on no account address him by name. He represents an *embahi* and, as such, is completely depersonalised. More specifically, the dancer represents a natural species – a pig, a wallaby or, in the case of women, a bird, a butterfly, a flower. The details of these identifications need to be studied more closely. The significance of the decorations is very similar to that of the masks used for dancing in other parts of New Guinea. The face and body become a medium for decorating: the individual assumes the persona of an ancestor; his private existence is covered over to display only his social function. 301 302 242 776 [825] [824]

This total lack of personal identity inherent in the *hambo* makes the object easily transferable from one individual to another. it always belongs essentially to the ancestors and is thus alive with spirit. By transferring it to another, a man emphasises that he and the recipient share some link with the spirit world and this implies amity, the primeval absence of strife. It also probably implies in some way the message of the sacred flutes by which man's contact with the spirit world is established. Further research no doubt will enable us to be more precise about the meaning of these transactions. They occur in a great many social contexts: *hambo* are given away to settle a quarrel, to pay bridewealth, to establish and maintain an important friendship. They are frequently lent to persons about to dance at a feast, and a gift of meat is then required from the borrower. They are lent by the *kogumbari* expert for a similar consideration, and are also bartered and sold. Some people, and not always the most prominent, make large collections of them, and most people of rank have a good store of them, as they are a necessary part of the ceremonial gift exchange system. From 301 431 556 425

101 Beaver (1915: Appendices 3 and 4) speak of the Jegasa-Sarua (or Jigasa or Jegasa-Sarana) and of the Atibi Guma (or Atibeguma) as tribes but are inconsistent in locating them in relation to their neighbours.

Since 'Wasida' people were allied with Sangara groups in fighting their neighbours to the north (the Divinikovari, Togahau, etc.), Williams' only grounds for treating the 'Wasida' as members of the same tribe as the Hunjovarehu and as opposed to other neighbours, including the Sangara[1] is the precedent sent by Chinnery and Beaver (1915:48) who claimed that their map of linguistic areas 'will show with tolerable clearness the various groups of tribes'; although Williams claims that 'the ultimate bases of the tribal division are political and economic' (1925:406), he states that his classification is based on their list of linguistic differences (1930:5) and follows them 1930:150 and end map; 0.9) in placing Divinikovari in the 'Wasida' area; he himself adds (ibid.) that this language classification 'apparently does not coincide with the tribal classification' since the Divinikovari (i.e., Hunjovarehu) and 'Wasida' are of different tribes.

Belshaw (1951:2) and Plant (1951: Appendix 4) prefer 'Periho' to 'Wasida' as a tribal name. The local people agree at least that 'Wasida' is inaccurate because it is really the name of a village[2] and may refer only to its inhabitants, or sometimes also to its immediate neighbours - just as Sivepe villagers may be called Awala people after the nearby village of that name; this identification with a named group of villages or 'hamlet group' seems to be weaker than it was even a decade ago.

[829] On the other hand 'Periho' (alternatively 'Berepo') is a general term for 'bush', that is inland peoples,[3] used by those closer to the coast (usually to the east) and is applied by them indiscriminantly to several tribes - at times to the Sangara (Williams 1930:6; 0.410). The Sivepe people are sometimes spoken of as the 'Kombu Periho' (kombu, from or of, a mountain or height);[4] they prefer to use the term 'Kombu Sangara' when referring to themselves and other Orokaiva from the slopes of Mt Lamington.

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[1] Plant (1951: Appendix 4) also argues against this.

[2] Williams was aware of this (W.10) although he usually chose to retain the European-introduced usage, sometimes referring thus, as with 'Jegasi-Sarahu', to the tribe as he saw it and sometimes to the group of villages in the tribe.

[825] [3] One meaning of 'periho' is a small wild pig from the bush.

[4] This is applicable a priori to the Sangara.

[p. 106 is blank]

484 produce could be sold directly to buyers at the village.[1] Nothing
[491 in Table 6:11 suggests that this move is related to the changing
location of gardening activities since the percentage time spent on
[361 travelling in connection with clearing activities is actually less
than that in connection with subsistence gardening.

Table 6:11

Sivepe: time spent on travelling as a percentage of total time spent on grouped activities

	Percentage of total time	Hours per man-week
Clearing	10.5	0.4
Subsistence gardening	18.6	2.5
Other subsistence food production	14.0	0.4
Other subsistence activities	10.1	0.2
Cash cropping	8.3	0.1
Paid work	15.0	0.2
Household	4.4	0.2
Social obligations	36.7	1.2
Sickness	23.9	0.2
External agencies	22.1	1.3
Other	40.7	0.3
Total	18.2	7.4
Corrected total*	15.0	6.1

* Accounting for several activities being undertaken in the course of a single return journey, and for journeys modified by travel in the researcher's vehicle.

361 In the one case of land tenure conversion among the Orokaiva for which information is available, it is interesting to note that the main benefit of conversion, as seen by the participants, lies in the

> consolidation of previously scattered holdings.... Under the traditional system a man may have had rights to several separate pieces of land often considerable distance from each other. As a result much time was spent in walking from

[361] [1] Other reasons given for the move included, firstly, that the new
[824] village would be an amalgamation of four existing ones and this
[825] enlarged size would permit the construction of 'better' houses and facilities, and, secondly, the village itself would be a better place because bananas, coconuts, dogs and pigs (all of which are 'no good') would not be permitted in it.

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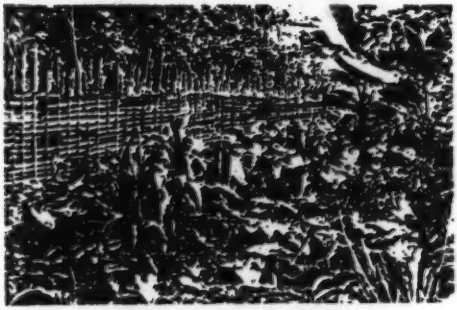

Fig. 6. *A Yega swidden. Notice the variety of interplanted crops which here include maize, taro, sugar cane, pineapple, paw paw, and bananas. The fence, built to keep out wild pigs, is about five feet high*

241 b) *Fencing.* Most Yega swiddens are fenced, at least partly, against the depredations of wild pigs (Fig. 6). Since fencing is a tedious task, natural features such as steep creek banks are utilized as fully as possible. But frequently one finds a swidden entirely fenced except for a gap left purposely to tempt the pig to enter the garden. A trap is then set, or a hunter takes his stand nearby at night. When the gap is not being used for hunting purposes, a fire is lit or pieces of rag are hung there; pigs scenting human beings will not then enter the garden.

[224]
[825]

241 c) *Division of labour.* Most garden work is performed by both men and women, but cut-
462 ting large trees is men's work only, and harvesting is performed by women only. Incidentally,
[482] the women also carry the loads of vegetables weighing sixty to seventy pounds back to the villages, often three or four miles, sometimes with a load of firewood and a baby on top.

262 d) *Sago production.* Sago is an important supplementary food; it is particularly important as a famine reserve. During an unusually long dry period in 1965 the Yega and their neighbours were reduced to living, for some months, almost exclusively on sago. Production
222 is a tedious process. Sago is a starch which, with fibre, makes up the internal bulk of the

[P.9-B]